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## ARTICLE XII.

*La vie de l'Empereur JULIEN, avec deux cartes geographiques, dressées pour l'intelligence des evenemens, qui y sont rapportées. A Amsterdam, chez François l'Honoré. 1735. That is, The Life of the Emperor JULIAN, with two Maps for understanding the Events related. Printed at Amsterdam, for Francis Honoré. 1735. 12mo. In two Parts; containing 326 Pages, beside a copious Index.*



Nothing is more contradictory than the different ideas which have been formed of JULIAN. Several, who know him only in the character of an *apostate*, represent him as a monster, not unlike the *Nero's* and *Domitians*. Others, dazzled with his shining qualities, would put him on the level with the *Antoninus's* and *Trajans*. "For my part, says our author, tho' I am not surprized at these two judgments, I can approve of neither of them. Julian was

"undoubtedly possessed of great  
"qualifications; and religion,  
"which commands us to pray  
"for our persecutors, while there  
"is a possibility of their conversion, does not allow us unjustly to blacken their memory, when they have receiv'd their condemnation. It is own'd, however, that he had great faults; so that, on distinguishing the apostate from the philosopher and the prince, it appears that he was not a great, but a singular man."

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The life of *Julian* is divided into six books. The first reaches from his birth to the time of his being dignified with the title of *Cesar*. *Julius Constantius*, brother to *Constantine* the great, was twice married. By *Galla*, his first wife, he had one daughter, and two sons, of whom *Gallus* was one; the name of the other is not known. By his second, *Basilina*, he had *Flavius Claudius Julianus*, born at *Constantinople* on the 6th of *November*, A. C. 331. Here it is to be observ'd once for all, that the author follows *Mr. de Tillemont's* chronology through his whole work; who is allow'd the preference to others, on account of his infinite exactness, and his love of truth, even in the smallest matters.

*Julian* lost his mother, while he was in his cradle. He was but six years old, when *Constantius*, one of the sons of *Constantine*, sacrificed his two uncles, and seven of his cousin-germans, to his policy, or rather to his jealousy; *Gallus* and *Julian* would have shared the same fate, had not some faithful friends conveyed them out of the way. As soon as *Constantius* knew where to find them, *Gallus* was banished into *Ionia*; and *Julian* was sent to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, the head of the *Arjan* party, and a relation of the young prince. The emperor seiz'd on *Julian's* patrimonial estate; but left him in possession of what descended to him in right of his mother. His governor was *Mardonius*, a *Scythian*, who had been employed in explaining *Homer* and *Hesiod* to his mother. His

chief care was to inspire his pupil with gravity and modesty, a contempt of sensual pleasures, an aversion to the theatre, and an esteem for a serious and retired life. He allow'd him no amusement, but what he could find in reading, and particularly in the beautiful descriptions of *Homer*.

Our author observes, that an education like this must have disgusted *Julian*, had he been a youth of less taste and docility. But, even from his infancy, an insatiable curiosity directed his lively and ardent genius toward the sciences. His penetration and presence of mind were supported by a prodigious memory. His first study was that of grammar, according to the commendable practice of the ancients, who obliged their children to learn their own tongue by rule, in order to speak it with purity. *Latin* was still the language of the empire, and used in all the public acts. But since the foundation of *Constantinople*, *Greek*, being commonly talked, even at court, was in some sort *Julian's* mother tongue. He therefore applied himself vigorously to the writings of ancient *Greece*; without entirely neglecting the *Latin*. Surrounded by *Grecians*, a set of men accustomed to esteem only their own nation, and their own language, he contracted their prejudices, and even their pedantry; always valuing himself more on being a *Grecian* than a *Roman*. He had a taste for poetry; was passionately fond of music, called it a divine art; and, when he came to the imperial throne, settled a fund

fund for the education of young musicians at *Alexandria*. Our author, who has read his works with great attention, and translated some of them, which he designs to publish, assures us it is impossible to peruse them without being convinced that he was ignorant of nothing, which was necessary to be known at that time for forming the character of an universal scholar.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen, he was taken from the schools and confined, with his brother *Gallus*, in a royal house near *Cesarea*, the capital of *Cappadocia*, where they remain'd six years. During that time the emperor allowed them proper masters of all sorts, especially such as were able to instruct them in the christian religion, and explain the sacred writings to them.

*Constantius*, now sole emperor by the demise of *Constantine* and *Constans*, his brothers and colleagues, being oblig'd to make war with *Magnentius* in the west, and threatened with a war in the east by an irruption of the *Persians*, having neither children nor nephews, was under a necessity of seeking a support in the person of *Gallus*. Accordingly he created him *Cesar*, on the 15th of *March* 351; and sent him to *Antioch*, with the character of governor of the east. The new turn of that prince's fortune, and the representations made by those, who had the care of *Julian*, obtain'd the latter the liberty of returning to *Constantinople*, to finish his studies. The schools

of that great city were in a flourishing condition, and afforded several eminent professors of eloquence, distinguished at that time by the appellation of *Sophists*. The celebrated *Libanius* was one of that number; but, as he was a professed pagan, the court chose rather to put the young prince into the hands of *Ecebolus*, a zealous christian. But never was conscience more flexible and complaisant, than that of this sophist, who always professed the religion of his sovereign. Under *Constantius*, he recommended himself by invectives against the gods of the pagans. He afterwards declaimed in favour of the same gods, when *Julian* opened the temples. On the first news of that prince's death, he put on the air of a penitent, and begg'd to be received into the number of the faithful.

Such was the sophist, to whose tuition *Julian* was committed. The young prince attended his lectures, always accompanied by *Mardonius*, and another man of letters. His dress was plain, his behaviour modest and affable to all; and he distinguished himself from the other students only by his capacity and application. His merit made a noise in *Constantinople*; and men began to say, he was worthy of a crown. The emperor, who had so far favoured his studies, as to give him subjects for his declamations, was now alarmed at the discourses of the people, and ordered *Julian* to retire to *Nicomedia*, or any other place in the lesser *Asia*, which



he should choose. But, as *Libanius* was then at *Nicomedia*, *Constantius* expressly forbade him to hear that sophist; and *Ecebolus* made him promise an oath never to become *Libanius's* scholar. *Julian* had a regard to the emperor's prohibition, and his own solemn engagements; but privately procured that sophist's pieces, at a great expence. He perused them so carefully, that he imitated the author's stile much better than any of those who had been his hearers.

*Julian* was not so taken up with his studies, as not to make an advantage of the liberty allowed him by the emperor, and the reputation which his brother's promotion gave him. He made several journies into the different provinces of *Asia*, with a view of assisting his friends, and that sometimes without being desired, and at the expence of his health. But friendship did not blind him; for in *Ionia* he espoused the cause of a sophist, whom he hardly knew, against one of his relations, his intimate friend, who was in the wrong. Tho' not rich, he was liberal. Here our author gives an extract from a piece which he wrote when he was emperor.

"Shew me, says he, a man,  
 " who has impoverished himself  
 " by giving alms. Mine have  
 " always enriched me, tho' far  
 " from a good oeconomist..... I  
 " have frequently experienced  
 " this, when a private man.  
 " While I was dividing my little  
 " fortune with the poor, I re-  
 " scued my grandmother's estate  
 " out of the hands of usurpers.

" Let us then give to all the  
 " world; more liberally to good  
 " men; but without refusing ne-  
 " cessaries to any one, even tho'  
 " he be our enemy; for we give  
 " not in consideration of morals,  
 " or character, but on the mo-  
 " tive of common humanity."

Such was *Julian's* maxim in regard to alms; how happy would he have been, says our author, had he adhered to the true religion, from which he took it!

During his confinement in *Capadocia*, he betray'd some inclination to idolatry; whenever the dispute between the *Christians* and *Pagans* was the subject of the declamation, he undertook to plead the cause of the latter. The historian observes, that his aversion to the emperor, a zealous christian, tho' a persecutor of the catholics, was probably the original cause of this disposition. To which it is added, that the submission, required by faith, might shock a person of so much curiosity, and puffed up with human learning: that he certainly was startled at the fatal divisions which distracted and rent the church; particularly at that scandalous controversy, in which was debated, whether *Jesus Christ* is the supreme GOD, or a mere creature; at the loose morals of the christians, at the violence employ'd on the orthodox by the *Arian* faction, at the policy and weakness of the chief members of the clergy. Reading the pagan authors night and day, he became well acquainted with their way of thinking. His extravagant veneration for the great men of antiquity



quity led him insensibly to wish they had always reason on their sides.

The edicts of *Constantine* had shook paganism, but not destroy'd it. Sacrifices were prohibited; but the most celebrated temples were still standing. Tho' the people were not allow'd to enter them, the very sight of them kept up the memory of the heathen festivals. In several places they were open; particularly at *Rome*, where the majesty of the senate gave a sanction to the ancient ceremonies. Professed pagans still enjoy'd the first dignities of the empire. Great numbers had been hurried into the church by the torrent of example, without quitting their prejudices. But the men of letters were the strongest support of the idolatry. The generality of those, whom *Julian* esteemed, declared for the old superstitions. As they were sensible of their absurdity, they employ'd their whole stock of wit and learning in giving a plausible turn to paganism. They acknowledged that the mythology, taken literally, was insupportable; but at the same time, according to them, under the emblem of fictions, it contained the most profound doctrines of natural philosophy, morality and divinity. Here our historian gives his readers those pretended explanations at large, as collected from *Julian's* own works; and, in a long and learned note, shews it was neither new, solid, nor conformable to the origin of the pagan worship. *Julian*, however, while he resided in *Asia*, had frequent

opportunities of hearing such artful apologies, which produced their intended effect on his mind; tho', by the force of education, he remained a christian till he was twenty years old.

The *Platonism* of that age was not the pure doctrine of *Plato*. The masters of that sect gave their common scholars a plain course of philosophy; and reserved the mysterious part of their system for their trusty disciples. These were taught an occult philosophy, concerning the several sorts of divination, the nature and subordination of the gods and *genii*, their secret worship, and the ceremonies requisite for conversing with them. This science was called *Theurgy*. *Edeffius*, at that time chief of the *Platonists*, resided at *Pergamus* in *Myrsa*. The reputation of his learning drew *Julian* to that city. *Edeffius*, being worn out with age, recommended the prince to *Maximus* of *Ephesus*, one of his ablest disciples. That philosopher undertook to imitate him in the mysteries of paganism. In the course of the ceremony, a terrible noise was heard, and fiery spectres appeared. *Julian* terrified, made the sign of the cross; and all vanished in a moment. The same thing happening a second time, the prince could not forbear observing, that he admired the virtue of that sign of the christians. *Maximus*, seeing his proselyte staggered, said to him, with an air of enthusiasm: *Do you imagine you have affrighted the Gods? No: But the Gods will have no commerce with a profane person*

person like you. *Julian*, satisfied with this reply, gave no farther disturbance to the ceremony, and was initiated. The wonders which he saw, or thought he saw, under the direction of *Maximus*, engaged him to adopt the pagan worship in its utmost extent; and from that moment he considered himself as a prince, called by the Gods to be the restorer of their altars.

*Julian*, however, still made an exterior profession of christianity, and knowing the court had some suspicion of what had passed between him and *Maximus*, caused his head to be shaved, embraced a monastic life, and was constant in the performance of religious duties. After some revolutions in his fortune, which our author relates at large, *Julian* retired to *Athens*, which had long been the center of learning, and the rendezvous of the brightest youth. There he met with *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. In this place it is natural to expect *St. Gregory's* description of that prince's person. Our historian has not failed in that point; and with the utmost impartiality, gives us the favourable sentiments which his admirers entertain'd of him. *Julian* would willingly have spent his whole life at *Athens*; but had not been there many months, before he was recalled to the court, which was then kept at *Milan*. The empire was attacked on all sides: *Gaul* was ravaged by the *Barbarians*; and the emperor would not think of leaving *Italy*. Having no male heir, he resolved to bestow the

dignity of *Cesar* on *Julian*, in the room of *Gallus*, whom he had put to death. This ceremony was performed on the 6th of *November*, 355.

The second book contains the history of *Julian's* life, from that time to his elevation to the imperial dignity by the soldiery. That prince left *Milan* on the first of *December*, passed the *Alps* at the head of 360 men, and reached *Vienne* toward the close of that month; where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. Having spent the winter and spring in the necessary preparations for opening the campaign, he marched in quest of the *Germans*, who had lately raised the siege of *Autun*, and were ravaging the country. He arrived at that city on the 24th of *June*, 356, and acted with all the resolution and prudence of an old commander, according to *Ammianus*. Having obtained several signal victories, driven the *Germans* out of *Gaul*, and re-established the reputation of the *Roman* arms, he spent the winter at *Paris*. Here our author gives us an account of his manner of living. After the example of *M. Aurelius*, he lived like a philosopher in the midst of his court, and at the head of his armies: he banished all dainties from his table, and contented himself with the allowance of a common soldier. He slept but little: his bed was a carpet, and a skin his only covering. He always arose at midnight; and, after a private prayer to *Mercury*, visited the sentinels. Having finished his

his rounds, if business permitted, he studied till day-light. He applied himself with indefatigable ardor to philosophy; the study of which was principally directed to the duties of his station. But that science never cured him of a fund of levity and vanity, acknowledged by the pagans themselves, which always tarnished his brightest actions. Philosophy, however, did not so much engross *Julian's* application, as to allow him no time for other sciences, particularly history, which he consider'd as a compendious method of acquiring experience, which age gives us by retail only, and that sometimes when we have no time left for making use of it. In all his expeditions, he carried with him some select histories, as a provision necessary for a general; and it is evident from his writings, that he was master of the *Roman* history, and that of other nations.

When *Julian* was not engaged in war, he spent the day in administering justice and exercising his soldiers. His decisions were full of justice, but always inclining to mercy. Before he took the field, he referred the parties to the governors of their respective provinces, to be tried with severity; but those magistrates had orders to defer the execution of sentence till his return, which he moderated according to the principles of equity. *Numerius*, who had lately been governor of the *Narbonnoise* Gaul, was impeached of plundering that province. As *Numerius* kept to the negative, and baffled his accusers,

a famous lawyer, imagining he might supply the want of proof with a vehement exclamation, cried out, *Cesar, who will ever be found guilty, if it is sufficient for a man to deny the charge?* But, said *Julian, who will ever appear innocent, if a bare accusation is sufficient?* This and some other instances of *Julian's* equity being produced, our author proceeds to the opening of the campaign, which proved favourable to that prince, who ravaged the territories of six considerable *German* kings, and obliged them to sue for a peace, which was granted on their giving up their prisoners.

*Constantius*, still engaged in a war with the *Persians*, and jealous of *Julian's* reputation, dispatched a secretary of state into *Gaul*, with orders to lead into the east the best part of that prince's troops. A refusal would exasperate the emperor; and a compliance with his order must leave *Julian* and *Gaul* at the mercy of the *Barbarians*. In this perplexity, he thought of quitting the purple. The troops would not hear of leaving *Julian*, tho' he exhorted them to obey the emperor, who was both willing and able to reward their services. He even mounted his tribunal, and made them a long speech on that subject, which they answered only with a melancholy silence; while the people flock'd to them, and begged they would not expose a country to the *Barbarians*, which they had delivered out of their hands by their bravery. *Julian* entertain'd the officers at dinner, who retired to the camp, inconsolable



solable at the thought of leaving their country and so good a prince. The soldiers were under no less affliction. They all took their arms in the evening, ran to the palace, invested it, crying in a lamentable manner JULIAN AUGUSTUS, and conjuring him to appear. *Julian* had retired to his apartment to repose himself; where, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, he dreamt he saw a young man naked, holding a *Cornucopia*, and in the same form as the genius of the empire was represented, who, with an air of reproach, said: *Julian, I have long waited at thy door, and been intent on thy promotion. Thou hast several times obliged me to retire. If now, against the general opinion, and contrary to the desire, of all concerned, thou refusest to receive me, I shall leave thee with sorrow. Remember, however, that I have but a short time to be with thee.*

*Julian*, hearing the shouts of the soldiers, addressed himself to *Jupiter*, desiring to know his will. He imagined the god gave him a presage, directing him to accept of the empire; but could not yet resolve to take that step; so much he dreaded passing for an usurper. He held out the whole night: in the morning they broke open the gates, and forced him to appear. The moment they saw him, they cried out louder than before, JULIAN AUGUSTUS. That prince resisted them all in general and each in particular, caressing, menacing, expressing his indignation, and entreating them not to blast their laurels by an imprudent step, which would be followed by a

civil war. He even gave them his word, that they should not pass the *Alps*, and undertook to lay their reasons before the emperor. But all to no purpose. They redoubled their cries, and even proceeded to reproachful and threatening language. *Julian*, who had remained impregnable till nine in the morning, seeing his life was in danger, and that after his death they would chuse another emperor, submitted to their will. Thus he was raised to the empire about the month of *March*, or *April* 360, being then twenty-eight years and a half old. We shall see, in the third book, how he behaved himself in that station till the death of *Constantius*, and at his entrance on the sole possession of the empire.

Soon after his promotion, he sent a solemn embassy to *Constantius*; and wrote to him in a style which shew'd he had no fear of his anger, and sincerely desired his friendship. In this letter, where he took only the title of *Cesar*, he told *Constantius*, "That he ought not to be blamed, " soldiers unpaid, unrewarded, " and half naked, who had been " long discontented with gaining " victories to their own loss, " under a general who could do " them no service, were driven " to extremities by an order, " which forced them from their " country, their wives and children, and sent them into a " climate so different from their " own. That, as for his part, " he had only submitted to the " utmost violence: that flatterers, " who had an interest in making difference

“ differences between princes,  
 “ would talk in another strain :  
 “ but begged him to consider,  
 “ that the good of the empire  
 “ and that of the emperor re-  
 “ quired they should be united in  
 “ friendship as they were in  
 “ blood : desired he would excuse  
 “ the advice, which a man pre-  
 “ sumed to give him, who would  
 “ always take a pleasure in re-  
 “ ceiving his orders : promised to  
 “ send him horses from *Spain*  
 “ every year, and foreign soldiers  
 “ to be incorporated in the *Roman*  
 “ troops : assured him he would  
 “ receive the prefects of the  
 “ *Prætorium* on his nomination ;  
 “ reserving to himself the right  
 “ of choosing the other officers :  
 “ he observed that, considering  
 “ the state of *Gaul*, it could not  
 “ be imagined there was any  
 “ possibility of engaging or forcing  
 “ the army to quit their own  
 “ country, still threatened by  
 “ the *Barbarians*, and march  
 “ into the east.

To this letter, written with a view of being made public, he added another, full of reproaches and invectives. But we have no distinct account of its contents.

The ambassadors found *Constantius* at *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*. On reading the letters, he order'd them to retire, without hearing or asking them any questions. Full of rage, he dispatched *Leonas*, a questor, with a threatening letter, recalling *Julian's* chief officers, and naming others in their room. *Julian* gave him audience, allow'd him to read *Constantius's* letter, received the prefect of the *Prætorium* nomi-

nated by that prince, and disposed of the other officers, as he thought proper. Having sent another embassy to the court in the east, he passed the *Rhine*, defeated the *Attuarians*, who still infested *Gaul* ; repass'd the river ; finished the conquest of the Frontier towns as far as the country of the *Rauraci*, now the canton of *Basil* ; and then made his way to *Vienne*, where he kept his winter quarters. He was too politic to declare himself against *Constantius* ; the apprehension of alienating the minds of the soldiers, and the western people, most of whom were christians, obliged him to dissemble his apostacy, till he should be in a condition of discovering it with impunity.

Toward the end of the winter, he had received advice that the *Germans*, contrary to the faith of treaties, were ravaging and plundering *Rhetia*, now called the country of the *Grecians*. These matters were supposed to be encouraged by *Constantius*, in order to stop the course of *Julian's* arms. The prince last mention'd passed the *Rhine* in the night, surpris'd the *Barbarians*, and obliged them to a peace, which they never dared violate during his life.

In the mean time, *Constantius* was endeavouring to put himself in a condition of having no apprehensions from the *Persians*, that he might go into the west and seize on *Julian* ; and sent him an offer of his life only. *Julian* now lost all patience : he pluck'd off the mask, and declared publicly that he com-

mitted his life to the care of the gods only. Having sacrificed to *Minerva*, he assembled his soldiers, opened to them his design on *Illyrium*, hoping, when master of that country, he might carry on the war with more equal forces, or make peace on better terms. He had hardly finished his discourse, when those very soldiers, who the year before expressed an invincible aversion to leaving *Gaul*, protested they were ready to follow *Julian* to the end of the world, and promised, with terrible imprecations, to shed the last drop of their blood in his service. His army consisted only of 20000 men, whom he divided into three bodies, in order to conceal his weakness, and diffuse terror in several places. He assigned them different marches, and appointed the general rendezvous at *Sirmium*, the capital of *Illyrium*. *Julian* put himself at the head of the least body, and in twelve days reached that city. Having possessed himself of an advantageous post between *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, he wrote to several cities of *Greece*, and among others to *Athens*, *Lacedemonia* and *Corinth*; not only to engage them in his interest, but to justify his proceedings. Here our author observes, that *Julian* wanted no apology in the minds of the *Grecians*; and that the bare permission of opening their temples was sufficient for gaining them. This was done in the year 361.

The historian supposes this may be the proper place for a very singular fact, related by *St. Gregory Narianzen*, and *Sozo-*

*men*. *Julian* was present at a sacrifice, when a cross surrounded by a sort of circle or crown, appeared on the entrails of the victim. This prodigy confounded the whole company, who considered it as a presage of the triumph and perpetual duration of the christian religion; the crown being the symbol of empire, and the circle of eternity. But the priest immediately gave another sense to the prodigy. *The circle*, said he, *which encloses the cross, shews that christianity can extend itself no farther, and that its fatal end is come. The christians are invested; they will not escape us.*

*Illyrium*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Italy* and *Sicily* had now declared for or submitted to *Julian*; and nothing was wanting for making him master of the empire, but the death of *Constantius*; which happen'd on the 3d of *November*, in the year last mention'd. As soon as *Julian* heard the news, he hastened to *Constantinople*. He entered that city on the 11th of *December*, attended by the senate, the soldiers and the people. Big with projects of reformation, he erected a court of justice for trying such as had abused their authority in the preceding reign. The judges proceeded with excessive rigour; so that several, who were but half guilty, or even innocent, were confounded with the greatest criminals. Our author gives some instances of this kind.

When *Julian* took possession of the imperial palace, he was surpris'd at the multitude of useless persons



persons, with whom it was filled : a thousand officers in the kitchen, as many barbers, more cup-bearers, and eunuchs without number. Upon enquiry, he found the domesticks of the palace received more money, than would pay the army ; whereupon he dismissed them all. Our author supposes the emperor's hatred of christianity, which was profess'd by the whole court, had no small share in this reformation.

The extinction of that religion was *Julian's* grand design, to which all his other views were made subordinate. As he dreaded nothing more than the character of a tyrant, and was convinced that violence is, at least, a very strong prejudice against the party that employs it, he resolved to take a less odious method than his predecessors had done. Pretending not to punish the christians precisely as such, he attempted to pervert them with caresses, and temporal advantages, by private vexations, and even by severities, when he could disguise them with some specious pretext. He reserved extremities till he was secure of finishing by force, what he had begun by artifice, and leaving no man in the world, who could reflect on his conduct. Before the death of *Constantius*, *Julian* had promised the *Pagans* of *Greece* and the neighbouring provinces the free exercise of their religion. On his arrival at *Constantinople*, he published an edict for opening the temples, for repairing and rebuilding them throughout the whole empire ; enjoining each city to revive their

particular feasts and ceremonies. He settled revenues for the support of the temples, and the maintenance of the pontiffs and priests ; bestowing on the ministers of the gods the honours, exemptions and prerogatives, of which they had been deprived under *Constantine* and his sons.

From the beginning of the monarchy to *Constantine's* conversion, the title of sovereign pontiff had been annexed to the supreme power. The christian princes were very far from looking on themselves as heads of a religion, which they detested ; but the idolaters persisted in giving them that title in their inscriptions. *Julian*, on the contrary, was fond of resuming it, set as great a value on it as on that of *Augustus*, and exercised the functions of the *Pagan* priesthood in person. However, he forced no one to be present at his sacrifices. " Let the gods be first appeased," said he, if any one is desirous of being admitted to our holy ceremonies. Let us not even think those can be admitted to them, who have not taken care to cleanse their hearts by fervent prayer, and their souls by proper expiations. It is not my intention, that the *Galileans* should be dragged to the altars, or that any violence should be offered to them. They are more mad than criminal. Let us endeavour, if possible, to make them hear reason, and gain them by gentle usage. They are already but too unhappy in deceiving themselves in the most essential

“point.” The emperor’s insulting compassion, and raillery, his exhortations, caresses and favours unmasked great numbers of pretended christians, who, having embraced christianity only as people take up a fashion, quitted it with the same ease. Among other regulations, he made a law for excluding the christians from the government of provinces and military employments; saying they could not in conscience fill those posts, since the gospel forbids drawing the sword. The generality of those in employment complied with the times; but in the midst of so universal a prevarication, there were still some generous christians in all parts of the empire, who signalized their courage. *Jovian* and *Valentinian* were the most distinguished. The former was then tribune, and quitted the service without hesitation; but *Julian*, who had occasion for that officer, carried him into *Persia*, and employ’d him. The latter was captain of a company in the guards. He made no scruple of accompanying *Julian* to the temples; but was particularly careful of having no share in the acts of religion perform’d there. As the emperor came one day to the temple of *Fortune* in great ceremony, the ministers of the goddess, drawn up in a lane in the porch, made the usual aspersions on the prince and his retinue. A drop of the *lustral* water falling on *Valentinian*’s cloaths, he cried out he was defiled by that impure water; and, in a transport of military zeal, struck the person

who had thrown it on him. This action was punished by imprisonment, which lasted during *Julian*’s life. *Cesarius*, a celebrated physician, and brother to *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, was another of those illustrious confessors. *Julian*, who passionately desired to retain him in his service, left nothing untried that he imagined might induce him to change his religion. To this end, he had a sort of regular dispute with him in the presence of a large company. *Julian* strengthened his sophisms with caresses and magnificent offers. But *Cesarius*, armed with his faith, defied all his art, and was not dazzled with the largest promises. He protested he was and ever would be a christian; and retired from court.

*Julian* recalled the orthodox bishops, and those of the persecuted sects, who had been banished under *Constantius*, and restored their confiscated estates. By this act he designed to shew his moderation in opposition to the severity of his predecessor, and mortify the *Arians*, whom he hated more than the other christians, because they had been favoured by *Constantius*. He imagined that by holding the balance even between the catholics and the *Arians*, he should keep up an implacable war between those two powerful communions: that, instead of uniting against the common enemy, they would endeavour one another’s destruction: that the other parties already subsisting, or which should be formed under the shelter of liberty, would increase the confusion: that christianity,

tianity, torn by its own hands, would fall into disgrace: that the morals of its professors would be corrupted, and thus men, disgusted of it at last, would return to paganism. In the same view, he frequently invited bishops and laymen of opposite sentiments to his palace, and exhorted them to make up their differences in an amicable manner. This pretended peace-maker, as our historian justly observes, would

have been very sorry to be taken at his word; he considered their discords as the support of paganism; having seen the *Arian* persecution, he was sensible, says *Ammian*, that wild beasts are less violent against men, than the generality of christians are against christians of different opinions.

This is the substance of the first part of the book before us. In our next we shall give an abstract of the second.

### ARTICLE XIII.

*The Book of Psalms, metrically divided, &c. being the Sequel of Article V.*

AS we have mention'd the learned bishop of *Chichester's* *Notes* on the book of *Psalms*, our readers will probably expect a view of some of them. We shall therefore present them with a few, from which they may be able to form some sort of judgment of the usefulness of his metrical discoveries, which have proved of singular service in the correction of the *Hebrew* text, as it now appears.

*Psalms* ii. ver. 12. We read--- *lest he be angry and ye perish from the way*. Here it is observ'd, that the *Hebrew* has only *Derek*, the way; so that something is always supplied in the translation. Some therefore read, *propter viam*, because of your way, or manner of living: others *in viâ in the way*, i. e. in the middle of your course. The *Greek* and *Latin* have *out of*, or *from the way*. But, says our critic, not knowing how to make sense of this expression, they have

added a word of their own, and read *out of the right way*. This is pronounced absurd; "for how *can a man perish out of the way in which he never walked?*" The *psalmist* is speaking to such as wander, and calls them "back to the *right way*." To this it might perhaps be replied, that the sense of the *Greek* and *Latin* versions is, *lest ye perish by going out of*, or *leaving the right way*; which very construction, at least, removes the absurdity. But we are told that, as the *Hebrew* text now stands, a syllable is wanting to complete the verse, and therefore we are to read *mid-derek*; which, to the bishop, seems to signify *immediately*, or *suddenly*. He expresses himself with due caution; not attempting to produce one single passage where the word will bear that translation. In the only one here referred to *2 Sam. xi. 10.* that word manifestly signifies, *from a journey*.



XI. ver. 6. *Upon the wicked he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, &c.* Here our annotator makes short work; neither the sense nor the measure of the verse required the word *snares*: they are both secure without it; and therefore it must be discarded.

XXI. ver. 1. The bishop reads, *In thy salvation he rejoiceth exceedingly.* The original, literally translated, is, *in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoice!* But *Mah*, here rendered *how*, spoils the measure of the verse, and prejudices the construction; for which reason it is judged that the word has crept out of the margin into the text; tho' he cannot tell what it could signify there. It is evident however, that the integrity of the verse is here more consulted than the sense; for *mah* is elsewhere admitted, without any prejudice to the construction, and twice rendered *quam!* *how!* *Psalms* cxix. ver. 97, 103. not to mention other places, where it occurs, and is received in the same sense, by the bishop himself.

XXV. ver. 21. *Let integrity and uprightness preserve me; for I wait on thee.* Here our critic adds, *Adonai*; which he supposes wanting in the text, because the Greek has *Κυριον*. It is allow'd, that this is in other places, put for the *nomen tetragrammaton*; but as that is to be read *Jahvoh*, and the measure of the verse requires a word of three syllables, *Adonai* answers the purpose much better. This *Psalms*, according to all our copies and translations, ends with these words: *Redeem Israel, O*

*GOD, out of all his troubles.* The bishop is of opinion, that this conclusion was added by another hand, perhaps by the high priest, after this *Psalms* was ordered to be used in the public service. The same sort of additions are supposed to be made to *Psalms* xxxiv, cxxv, and cxxx.

XXVIII. ver. 3. *Draw me not away with the wicked, and with the workers of iniquity.* Thus the sentence stands in the *English* version, which agrees exactly with the present *Hebrew* copies. But it is observed, that both the sense and the metre shew something is wanting in this place; to assist both, the words *al tesop* are inserted; and then the latter part of the sentence will be, *and destroy me not with the workers of iniquity.* This reading is supported by the authority of the *Septuagint*, which has words exactly answering to those here added.

XL. ver. 7, 8. *Then said I, Lo, I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my GOD; yea, thy law is within my heart.* This passage as it now appears in the *Hebrew*, is far from being clear; nor do interpreters agree on the meaning of the words here rendered, *the volume of the book*. Our learned critic tells us, he had suspected the words misplaced, some years before he thought of reducing the *psalms* to metre; but is now thoroughly convinced, that they ought to be read thus: *And then I said, behold I come to do thy will, O Lord, my GOD; I have delighted in the volume of the book written for me, and thy law is in the*

the middle of my bowels. The verses being thus ranged in their right order, the bishop is of opinion, that the passage is rendered clear and easy. For now, says he, it is evident that the volume of the book is the same, as the book of the law: that catub, written, agrees with *seper, book*, and that here is a plain allusion to the command given, *Deut. xvii. 18.* that a copy of the law should be written for the king's use. He has added, *Adonai, O Lord*, to the first of these verses, because that, or a word of the same number of syllables, was absolutely necessary for making up the metre.

LXXIV. ver. 3. *Lift up thy feet unto the perpetual desolations; even all that the enemy hath done wickedly in the sanctuary.* Thus the verse stands in our *English* version. The bishop chooses to read, *Lift up thy footsteps; destroy every enemy, who doth ill in the sanctuary, or holy place.* He asserts, that neither the measure of the verse, the sense, nor the connexion of the sentence will allow of the common reading. He is of opinion, that the words rendered *perpetual desolations*, were, by the mistake of the transcriber, taken from the 18th verse of the foregoing *Psalms*. But, as the verse will suffer by the removal of those words, he fills up the gap, by one which he translates *destroy*, and which he takes from the 11th verse, where he thinks it superfluous.

LXXV. ver. 2. *When I shall receive the congregation. I will*

judge uprightly. The word here rendered *congregation*, is, in the *Greek and Latin*, translated *time*; that is, a proper stated, or appointed time. In which sense it occurs elsewhere; and the margin of the *English* bible, gives that reading. Our critic, however, accuses the interpreters of ignorance of the *Hebrew* metre; and instead of *moyed*, writes *mayadim li, when I shall receive the congregations to myself, i. e. when the congregations, which the enemies have destroyed, shall be restored.*

LXXXIX. ver. 15. *Blessed is the people, that know the joyful sound: they shall walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance.* The word here rendered *the joyful sound*, stands in our critic's way; it disturbs the verse, and therefore is dismissed. The term in question, according to him, relates to the music, and was originally written in the margin, from which it has since crept into the text. The verse thus corrected, is in *English*; *Blessed is the people, knowing thee O LORD: they shall walk in the light of thy countenance.* Several such interpolations are discovered in the course of this work.

These may serve as specimens of the erudition, and sagacity of the right reverend author; but the whole merit of his laborious performance can be perfectly known, only by a careful perusal of the work itself, which is somewhat singular.

## ARTICLE XIV.

PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS. No. 436.

THIS number, which begins the 39th volume, and contains the *Philosophical Transactions* for the month of *January*, *February* and *March*, 1735. is divided into seven articles. The first is a catalogue of fifty plants, from Chelsea-Garden, presented to the royal society, by the company of apothecaries, for the year 1733. the 12th since the *Royal Society* first received that annual compliment. The second exhibits the eclipses of *Jupiter's Satellites* for the present year, with their several *immersions* and *emersions*; computed to the meridian of the *Royal Observatory* at *Greenwich*, by *James Hodgson*, F. R. S. master of the *Royal Mathematical School*, in *Christ's-Hospital*, *London*.

In the third, we have the apparent times of such of the said *immersions* and *emersions*, as are visible at *London*; together with the form and configuration of those *Satellites*, as they will appear to the naked eye, or through a reflector, represented in a plate, by the same ingenious mathematician; who, in the fourth, presents us with some observations on the eclipses of *Jupiter's first Satellite*, compared with the tables. On comparing 244 such eclipses, observed between the years 1677, and 1731, with the *Flamsteedian* tables, corrected by himself, from which the cata-

logue of eclipses, in the second article, is deduced, he finds 74 which differ not one minute from those tables: 127, that differ not two minutes; 181, that do not differ three minutes; and 214, that do not differ four; the rest not differing above five and a half. This Mr. Hodgson, thinks a degree of exactness, sufficient for recommending the use of these eclipses to our navigators, to determine the difference of longitude, especially since they may be view'd with a telescope of three feet.

The fifth article, is a letter from Mr. Stephen Gray, F. R. S. to Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, secretary to the Royal Society, containing experiments and observations on the light, produced by communicating electrical attraction, to animal or inanimate bodies; with some of its most surprising effects. From the experiments, here related at large, with all their circumstances, it is concluded, that, "an actual flame of fire, together with an explosion and ebullition of cold water, may be produced by communicative electricity." To which Mr. Gray adds, "tho' these effects are at present but in minimis, it is probable, that in time, a way may be found out to collect a greater quantity of it; and consequently to increase the force of this electric fire, which



" which, by several of these experiments, seems to be of the same nature with that of thunder and lightning.

The reverend Mr. William Braikenridge, in the year 1733, published a small Latin treatise in Quarto, concerning the manner of describing curve lines. He there supposes his method more simple than that invented by Sir Isaac Newton, and entirely new. It appears from a piece, composed in the same language, which is the sixth article of the *Transactions* before us, that he still retains the same favourable opinion of his discovery. It is a general method of describing curves, by the intersection of right lines, moving about points to a given plane. In a letter to Benjamin Hoadly, M. D. Mr. Braikenridge had explain'd but one particular case in

his dissertation; not thinking it proper to expose the whole to view at that time, he has now illustrated his method, with ten different propositions.

The last article is an extract of a letter, from Mr. Geoffroy, chymist, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, to Sir Hans Sloane, &c. concerning Mr. Seignette's SAL POLYCHRESTUS RUPELLENSIS, and some other chymical salts. That here specified appears to be a tartarum solubile, composed of cream or crystals of Tartar, and the fix'd salt of the Kali of Alicante, well depurated. The preparation of this salt, being given at large, it is recommended as a good purgative, from one ounce to two ounces, dissolved in a quart of water.

## ARTICLE XV.

*The History of the Revolutions of POLAND, from the Foundation of that Monarchy to the Death of AUGUSTUS II. By Mr. L'Abbé DES FONTAINES. Translated from the original French. London, Printed for T. Woodward, between the two Temple Gates, and C. Davis in Pater-noster-Row. 1736. Octavo. Containing 428 Pages, the Index included.*

MR. Des Fontaines has collected into the following work all the most curious and authentic pieces he could find that had any material relation to the history of Poland. Tho' he has in many particulars followed Dugless, a canon of Cracow, who wrote in the 15th century, he takes the liberty of differing

from that historian in some points; and that either on the credit of other materials, or when the mistake is obvious to every discerning eye: the celebrated Mr. de Thou has recorded several considerable particulars, which our author knew how to employ to his own use and the entertainment of the public.

The whole consists of a short *Historical and Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Poland*, an introduction and six books. The introduction is a summary of the reign of *Lech* I, supposed to be a descendent from *Japhet* the son of *Noah*, and those of his successors down to *Miecslaus*, the first christian king of that country.

*Dabrowka*, daughter to *Boleslaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, being proposed as a match to that prince, refused to marry him while he remain'd a pagan. *Miecslaus* was accordingly instructed in the great truths of christianity, declared himself convinced of them, and propagated that religion with great success among his subjects. This conversion is placed in the year 965. He was succeeded by his son *Boleslaus* in 999; a prince distinguished by an invincible courage, an uncommon affability, and a paternal regard for his subjects. The emperor *Otho* III. made him a visit, offer'd him his alliance, crown'd him king of *Poland*, and gave him the imperial eagle, in a field *Gules* for his arms. This alliance was afterwards confirm'd and strengthened by the marriage of *Rixa*, daughter to *Godfrey*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, and niece to the emperor, with *Miecslaus*, the son of *Boleslaus*.

These marks of distinction, bestow'd on the king of *Poland*, raised the jealousy of the *Bohemians*, who engaged in a war with that kingdom. Their duke enter'd *Poland*, and committed great devastations in the country, without any just provocation. This

was followed by a truce, which the *Bohemians* soon broke, and march'd into *Poland* a second time; but were forced to retire, tho' they carried off much booty, and a great number of prisoners. Some time after, the king put himself at the head of a gallant army, and advanc'd into *Bohemia*, with a resolution to conquer or die. The enemy could not be induced to hazard an engagement. *Prague* was taken after a two years siege, and every place yielded to the victor's arms. The duke and his sons were made prisoners of war; and the conquest of *Moravia* succeeded that of *Bohemia*.

*Jaroslav*, son of *Welodimir*, duke of *Russia*, aspiring at the sovereignty of *Kiovia*, took up arms against his father, and made himself master of that city. The duke soon took the field; but did not live to punish his son's revolt. *Borisz* and *Suantopelk*, two of his other sons, who commanded the army in his absence, not having heard of their father's death, gain'd a complete victory over their brother. *Suantopelk* made himself master of *Kiovia*, and, for his own security, caused *Borisz* to be assassinated. Having succeeded thus far, he employ'd the same expedient on his brother *Gleb*, in order to possess himself of his dominions; for *Welodimir* had made a partition of his territories, to prevent divisions among his sons after his death. In the year 1008 *Jaroslav* and *Suantopelk* took the field; and the latter was obliged to retire into *Poland*, where he found a powerful protector.

teetor. The king, imposed on by his artifices, promised to re-instate him in his dominions. In this view he entered *Russia*, passed the river *Bog*, forced the enemy to fly as he advanced, took *Kiowia*, and carried off the immense treasures, which had been amassed in the castle by several dukes of *Russia*. After this expedition, the king disposed his troops into winter quarters, in the parts adjacent to *Kiowia*, where he continu'd in person with *Suantopelk*, whom he had re-established on the throne, though his brother still disputed it with him. *Suantopelk*, imagining he no longer needed the assistance of the *Poles*, began to consider them as his greatest enemies, and enter'd into a resolution of massacring them. The execution of it was begun, when the king, receiving advice of the conspiracy, immediately took horse, and assembled part of his army with all expedition. *Suantopelk* fled at his approach: the king entered *Kiowia*, which he pillaged; and the *Poles* march'd back to their own country, charged with the spoils of all *Russia*, and even signalized their retreat by another victory.

In 1010, *Jaroslav* appear'd in the field, in order to crush the treacherous *Suantopelk*, who was no longer assisted by the *Poles*; and reduced him to a necessity of once more imploring the protection of *Boleslaus*; but this enterprize was broke off by the death of *Suantopelk*; and *Jaroslav* was at last conquered by his brother *Miecslaus*, who generously restor'd all he had wrested from

him, reserving to himself only the glory of a disinterested victory. Thus ended the *Russian* war.

*Boleslaus*, to keep his soldiers employ'd, determined to carry the war into *Saxony*, which country he compelled to receive laws from him. He likewise obliged *Pomerania* to acknowledge him for its lord, and made *Prussia* tributary to the crown of *Poland*. The tranquillity which succeeded these advantages was some years after interrupted by a new war, kindled by *Jaroslav*, duke of *Russia*, who was at last oblig'd to sue for a peace, and obtain'd it on easy terms. The *Polish* nation enjoy'd a profound peace during the remainder of *Boleslaus*'s life. That great prince died in 1025; and was succeeded by his son *Miecslaus*.

The death of *Boleslaus* was a sort of signal for a general commotion. The *Russians* forced the frontiers of *Poland*, and gain'd some considerable advantages; but this revolt was soon quelled. That of *Bohemia* was attended with worse consequences. *Uldaric*, son to the duke of *Bohemia*, tho' a prisoner of war, had been allow'd to retire into *Bohemia*; where he encouraged a general insurrection; and the *Polish* garrisons being left defenceless, the soldiers were massacred or compelled to fly. The same spirit reign'd in *Moravia*, and produced the same effects; but the indolent and debauched *Miecslaus* beheld these insults with indifference. The provinces adjacent to *Germany* follow'd the example: their



governors assumed the title of sovereigns; and *Pomerania* had an independent prince. Roused at last by the remonstrances and reproaches of the *Polish* lords, and attended by three *Hungarian* princes, he chastised the insolence of the *Pomeranians*. This was performed in 1030; and that prince died in 1034.

The contempt, which the people entertain'd for *Miecslaus*, was extended to his son *Casimir*, whose election and coronation were suspended. During his minority, the administration of affairs was consign'd to *Rixa*, his mother. The regent's conduct was such as exasperated the people still more; and she had not been above a year in that post before she was banished. She put herself and her son under the protection of the emperor, who gave them an honourable reception, and promised them a speedy revenge. The *Poles*, being now in a state of anarchy, each particular lord form'd equal pretensions to the supreme power, or, at least, was desirous of preserving himself in a state of independency. This open'd a civil war in 1037; which calamity was soon after completed by an irruption of the *Bohemians*, who took *Wratisslaw*, *Pesnan* and *Gnesna*. In 1039 *Jaroslau*s marched into *Poland*; and whatever had escaped the fury and avarice of the *Bohemians*, became a prey to the *Russians*. They depopulated the duchy of *Mazovia*, and did not retreat from that country, till they had nothing more to plunder. It was at last resolved to recall *Casimir*, who

had now receiv'd the monastic habit, in the abby of *Clugni*. Pope *Benedict IX.* granted him a dispensation, on condition that all the *Poles* should pay a certain tax to the apostolic see. The holy father likewise insisted on their shaving their heads and beards, and wearing a white linen stole about their necks on all principal festivals. In consequence of which, *Casimir* was, in 1040, receiv'd as a person, who came to restore peace and plenty in *Poland*, and crown'd at *Gnesna* by *Stephen*, archbishop of that city.

The new monarch's first care was to clear his kingdom of the robbers who infested it. He punished some with the utmost severity, granted a general amnesty to the rest; and thus affairs put on a new face. The nobility began now to consider the marriage of their king as an affair of the utmost importance. *Jaroslau*s, duke of *Russia*, had united in his own person all the dominions of his father; and the choice fell on *Mary*, the sister of that prince, daughter of *Wolodimir* and *Anne*, the sister of *Basilus* and *Constantine* emperors of the *East*, a lady educated in the tenets of the *Greek* church, which she renounced, and was soon after crown'd queen of *Poland*. *Bretislau*s, duke of *Bohemia*, was now the only enemy *Poland* had to fear; but the emperor obliged him to restore what he had usurped during the civil wars, and rendered him incapable of forming any attempt on that kingdom. In like manner the duchy of *Mazovia* was reduced to submit to its

lawful

lawful prince; and a solid and lasting peace ensued in 1043.

*Casimir* improved this tranquillity for establishing religion, and cultivating the sciences, of which the cloisters were then the only repositories. In the mean time, *Hungary* relapsed almost entirely into paganism. The debaucheries of *Peter*, king of that country, and those of his favourites, lost him the crown, which was placed on the head of *Abba*; but the cruelty of the new prince making him odious to his subjects, *Peter*, assisted by the emperor, defeated and killed him, and regain'd the throne in 1046. But his severity in punishing some conspirators exasperated the nobility, who offer'd the crown to *Andrew*, *Bela*, and *Laventa*, nephews of *Stephen*, the late king. *Bela* refused the offer; but the other two revolted against *Peter*, who was taken prisoner, and condemned to lose his eyes. This fact is dated in 1048. *Laventa* died the next year; and his brother enjoy'd the regal dignity without a competitor. When he saw his authority fully established, he did all in his power for recovering his subjects to the true faith. *Poland* lost its pacific king, after a reign of eighteen years; and his son *Boleslaus* II. was elected in his room. In this reign, *Zaslau*, duke of *Kiovia*, eldest son of *Jaroslau*, duke of all *Russia*, retired to the court of *Poland*, to avoid the fury of his rebellious subjects; while *Wenceslaus*, his youngest brother, who held the duchy of *Smolensko*, made himself master

of that prince's dominions. *Bela* dissatisfied with his brother, the king of *Hungary*, travelled into the same kingdom, and, by the assistance of *Boleslaus*, was crown'd king of that country. After the death of *Spitigna*, son to *Breteflaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, his brother *Wratislaus*, then in *Hungary*, was recalled by the nobility, who acknowledged him their duke. *Jaromir*, the youngest of all the brothers, who had taken sanctuary in a cloister from the fury of the late duke, and made the usual vows, quitted his retreat and came to *Wratislaus*; but not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he retired into *Poland*, with a considerable body of the nobility. Thus *Poland* became the common *Asylum* of unfortunate princes. The *Prussians* shook off the *Polish* yoke, made several inroads into the country, entered *Pomerania*, and conquer'd part of that province; but were obliged at last to submit to the payment of the customary tribute.

In 1067, *Boleslaus* married *Wiszeslava*, a princess of *Russia*, in order to corroborate his pretensions to that country, part of which already belong'd to the crown of *Poland*, in right of *Mary*, the daughter of *Jaroslau*, and mother to *Boleslaus*. After which, he entered *Russia*, and advanced by slow marches to *Kiovia*. In the mean time, *Suantoslau* and *Wszewold*, brothers to *Zaslau*, sent to assure the king, and that prince of the obedience of the *Kioviens*, and solicit them not to treat that people as rebels, since

since they repented of their revolt. *Boleslaus* listen'd to the proposal, and the duke was receiv'd with all imaginable marks of submission. The *Polish* troops took up their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of *Kiovia*, and appear'd in the field again as soon as the season would permit. *Boleslaus* made his first efforts in the parts contiguous to the river *San*, in black *Russia*. Most of the towns submitted; and he made himself master of those which pretended to sustain a siege.

It was now time for *Boleslaus* to discontinue the war, in order to succour his allies. *Bela*, king of *Hungary* was dead, and had left *Geisa*, *Uladislaus*, and *Lambert*, his sons, for his successors. *Solomon*, the son of *Andrew*, supported by the emperor, enter'd *Hungary*, and the three princes were driven from their territories. *Boleslaus* advanced to their assistance, was join'd by a great body of the nobility, who were desirous of restoring them, negociated a peace in their favour, and then marched immediately into *Russia*. During his absence, *Zaslau* had embroiled himself with his brothers, who chased him from *Kiovia* a second time; but he was re-established by the *Polish* arms. This expedition was completed in 1076.

As *Kiovia* was at that time the most voluptuous city in all the north, the effeminacy of the vanquished people corrupted the *Polish* army, and *Boleslaus* now abandoned himself to all the vices, which are the usual attendants on prosperity. The *Russian* war

having employ'd the *Poles* almost seven years, the women of that country, exasperated at the unjust preference their husbands gave the *Kioviens*, by a general conspiracy, resign'd themselves to the embraces of their slaves. This fury pass'd from the mothers to their daughters; and the whole sex was involved in a public prostitution. *Margaret*, the wife of count *Nicholas* of *Zemboczin*, was the only lady who had no share in the common dishonour. The news of so uncommon and unanimous a revenge soon reached *Kiovia*; the greatest part of the army deserted, and hasten'd into *Poland*, where they found as much difficulty in defeating their own wives, and their despicable lovers, as they had experienced in the conquest of *Russia*. While they were thus engaged, *Boleslaus* arrived with the remains of his troops. By his express command, several thousands of women, with their children, were massacred, and the soldiers, who had quitted the camp, were treated with the same barbarity.

*Boleslaus*, having given into the utmost excesses of cruelty and injustice, and being plunged into the most criminal debaucheries, *Stanislaus*, bishop of *Cracow*, reproved him, and when neither public remonstrances nor private expostulations produc'd any effects, the prelate had recourse to excommunication, as his last expedient. *Stanislaus*, after this step, concealed himself for the space of a year, to avoid his sovereign's rage. But, understanding that *Boleslaus* still persisted in



in his vicious courses, and assisted at divine service, in contempt of the excommunication, he return'd to his church, where he refused the king admittance, who now wanted only a fair opportunity of destroying him. Having been informed that *Stanislaus* was celebrating mass in a small oratory, he dispatched a party of soldiers to the place, with orders to assassinate him. But the prelate's majestic air, or some celestial power, suspended the vigour of their arms, and they returned thrice without executing the king's orders. He then resolved to dispatch him with his own hand. Accordingly, he gave him the first stab: the soldiers, harden'd by his example, seconded the stroke and cut the bishop in pieces. This fact was committed on the 8th of May 1079. *Gregory VII*, then in *St. Peter's* chair, interdicted all *Poland*; and the archbishop of *Gnesna* took care to see the sentence executed with the utmost rigour. *Poland* now lost the appellation of a kingdom: *Boleslaus* was deprived of the title of king, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance. The metropolitan and his suffragans were forbid to crown another king, without the consent and orders of the *Roman* see: the nobility and gentry who had been present at the assassination, were deprived of their estates and effects, and their children declared incapable of possessing any ecclesiastical or secular promotion to the fourth generation. After this, every one either abandon'd *Boleslaus*, or entered into a conspiracy

against him; and *Russia* once more shook off her yoke. The unfortunate prince retired into *Hungary*, with his only son *Miecslaus*, where *Wratislaus*, son to *Bela*, entertain'd him with all imaginable marks of honour. The pope pursued him in his retreat, and he was obliged to quit that country. Some historians assure us that he died in a monastery in *Carinthia*; according to others, he was killed as he was hunting in a forest of *Hungary*. This is the substance of the first book, which concludes with the character of that prince.

The second opens with the change effected in the *Polish* government. *Boleslaus* was, in the year 1081, succeeded by his brother *Uladislaus*, with the title of duke, who procured the abolition of the late interdict. *Bohemia* had now acquired the dignity of which *Poland* was divested: *Wratislaus*, the duke of that country, obtain'd the regalia from the emperor *Henry IV*, and was crown'd at *Prague*. The *Poles* were entirely driven from the frontiers of *Russia*; and this revolt drew after it that of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*; but *Uladislaus* soon found means to compel those provinces to return to their duty.

That prince had two sons; *Boleslaus* and *Sbigna*, the latter illegitimate. *Sbigna* was designed for the ecclesiastical character, and sent into *Saxony*, where he was shut up in a monastery, with a view of disposing him for that state of life. A party of malecontents induced him to quit his retreat, and placed him at their head,

head, with an intent to make themselves masters of *Wratiflaw*, on the frontiers of *Bohemia*. The governor of that city was prevailed on to open the gates to *Sbigna*, who took possession of the citadel, and was allow'd provisions for his troops, on condition that he should leave the place, if *Uladislaus* should issue out an order to that effect, and that nothing should be attempted to the prejudice of the sovereign's authority, or inconsistent with the respect due to him. *Uladislaus* took the field: *Sbigna* and his exiles, who did not think proper to wait his arrival, retired into *Cruscicia*, where he receiv'd succours from the *Pomeranians* and *Prussians*, and had then the presumption to attack his father; but was defeated and his party dispersed. *Sbigna* was imprison'd; but soon after, at the solicitation of the nobility, pardon'd and set at liberty. To prevent any disagreement between his sons after his death, he divided his dominions between them. The palatine of *Cracow*, the duke's favourite, had the disposal of all the strongest places in the kingdom: all offices and employments were engross'd by his friends and relations: his treasures were immense, and his pride was as immoderate as his riches. Thus he became insupportable to the two young princes, who raised a large army, in order to drive him out of the country. Their father advanced against them; but the bishops and nobility negotiated a peace; whereupon the palatine had orders to retire from court, and was afterwards banish'd into *Russia*.

*Uladislaus* dying in the year 1102, his two sons took possession of the territories assigned them. Some differences arising between them, *Sbigna* engaged the assistance of the *Bohemians*, *Pomeranians*, *Prussians*, *Saxons* and *Meravians*; while *Boleslaus* was supported by the *Russians* and *Hungarians*. This contest ended to the disadvantage of the former, who was allow'd only the duchy of *Mazovia*, to support him agreeably to his rank. *Sbigna*, however, raised a party against his brother; but, his intrigues being discovered, he was declared a traitor, and banished. Being reduced to a very destitute condition, and obliged to have recourse to *Boleslaus's* clemency, he obtained his pardon. *Sbigna*, restored to his country, formed a new conspiracy against his benefactor. His practices being detected, he at last suffer'd the fate of traitors; but authors are not agreed on the nature of his punishment.

*Coloman*, king of *Hungary*, had incurred the displeasure of the emperor *Henry V*, who resolved to dethrone him. In this extremity, he had recourse to *Boleslaus*, who made a powerful diversion in his favour in *Bohemia*, and sent him a body of troops that defeated all the emperor's efforts. *Henry*, determined on revenge, enter'd *Poland* with an army; but, after several advantages gain'd on both sides, *Boleslaus*, assisted by the *Russians*, and levies made in the duchy of *Mazovia* and the palatinates of *Sandomir* and *Lublin*, obliged the emperor to a peace, which

which was confirmed by a double alliance. *Boleslaus* espoused *Bamberg*, *Henry's* sister; and that monarch presented him with his daughter, to be married to the prince of *Poland*, when she should attain to a proper age. This account is followed by a short history of the *Crusades*, the differences between the emperor and the court of *Rome* concerning the choice of a pope, and the conclusion of the schism in the church under *Calixtus II.* The history of *Boleslaus* is resumed at the year 1124, when he undertook his expedition into *Denmark*. That kingdom groan'd under the tyranny of the usurper *Abel*, who had made his way to the throne through the blood of king *Henry*, his brother. *Boleslaus* obliged him to abandon the crown, and restored to the nobility all the places he had conquered.

Fortune at last abandon'd *Boleslaus*; and his credulity proved fatal to him. An *Hungarian* emissary of *Wasilkon*, prince of *Russia*, pretended he had been deprived of his estate, on account of his zeal for the house of *Stephen*, king of *Hungary*, and implored the duke's protection. The duke received him very graciously, and gave him the government of a strong place on the river *Nida*, which he deliver'd up to the *Russians*. That people, always defeated in the field, had now recourse to treachery. *Boleslaus*, having receiv'd a deputation from the inhabitants of *Halitz*, begging his assistance in favour of their banish'd prince *Jaroslau*, marched toward that city, with a small

body of brave troops. At his approach, all the forces of *Russia* pour'd upon him; most of his men were killed on the spot, and he with much difficulty saved his own life, which ended in 1139, about four years after this action.

*Boleslaus* left five sons, among four of whom he had divided his dominions; *Casimir*, the fifth, then in his cradle, had no share assigned him. *Uladislaus*, the eldest of them, was chosen duke of *Poland*. *Christina*, his consort, daughter to the emperor *Henry IV.*, endeavour'd to deprive her brothers-in-law of their territories; which motion was opposed by the nobility; *Uladislaus*, who easily enter'd into her ambitious views, invited a body of *Russians* into *Poland*, in order to be ready when he should have occasion for their assistance, and gain'd some of the lords to favour his design. Thus supported, he easily found means of obliging *Boleslaus* and *Henry* to retire to their brother *Miecslaus* in *Poznan*, where they were besieged soon after. But he was forced from his attempt: the three brothers recovered their respective portions, and advanced toward *Cracow*, whither *Uladislaus* had retired after his defeat. The duke, who dared not wait their arrival, went into *Germany*, to solicit the emperor's assistance, having first fortified the citadel, where he left his wife and children. The imperial forces were otherwise employ'd; and, during his absence, *Cracow* fell into the hands of his brothers. Whereupon *Christina* was sent back into her own country,



try, with her three sons ; and *Boleslaus*, the second son of the late *Boleslaus*, was declared duke of *Poland* by the whole nation. As the emperor, *Conrade III*, was engaged in the holy war, *Uladislaus* could only obtain an inconsiderate body of forces, with which he made a few incursions into *Poland*, but to no purpose. The emperor, passing through *Poland*, in his way to the east, was so well receiv'd by *Boleslaus*, that he laid by all thoughts of hostilities. *Conrade*, dying in the year 1153, was succeeded by *Frederick Barbarossa*, who enter'd *Poland* with a formidable army, and demanded the re-establishment of *Uladislaus*. His arms not meeting with the expected success, he proposed a conference, to which *Boleslaus* came in person : he, with his two brothers, readily consented to *Uladislaus's* return ; and the emperor confirmed the treaty by the marriage of *Adelaïda*, his niece, with *Miecslaus*.

The exiled duke set out for *Poland*, but died on the road. *Boleslaus*, his eldest son, distinguished himself in the wars of *Italy*, under the emperor, who employ'd his mediation for the re-establishment of the family of *Uladislaus* in *Poland*. The negotiation succeeded so well, that *Boleslaus* ceded the sovereignty of *Silesia* to his nephews, with obligation to do homage to him and acknowledge him sole monarch of *Poland*. He then undertook the conquest of *Prussia*, and the propagation of christianity in that country ; and was attended by his two brothers in this expedition,

which proved unfortunate, and *Henry* lost his life in it ; whereupon *Casimir* was invested with his territories. This defeat was followed by a civil war, raised by the children of *Uladislaus*, which was ended by the prudent management of *Boleslaus*, who gave them the possession of some towns in *Silesia*.

*Boleslaus*, who died in 1173, bequeathed the duchies of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, to his son *Lech*, under the guardianship of *Casimir*. *Miecslaus* was elected to succeed him. *Poland* was in expectation of happy times under a prince, who had from his youth appeared prudent and equitable ; but he became a tyrant, the moment he ceased to be a subject. The nobility having struggled with their calamities about four years, assembled, and unanimously resolved on his deposition. After some debate, *Gideon*, bishop of *Cracow*, was deputed to make an offer of the crown to *Casimir*, who accepted of it, tho' not without difficulty ; and was received as the deliverer of his country. The conduct of this prince justified the choice, and fully answered the high opinion the people entertained of his virtue. *Miecslaus*, not being able to recover his dominions by force of arms, had recourse to supplications. *Casimir* left nothing unattempted for his brother's relief. He even facilitated his conquest of *Gnesna*, and all the lower *Poland*, and furnished him with means for wresting part of his dominions even from himself. This generosity was repaid with ingratitude. *Miecslaus* now formed a

con-

conspiracy for seizing the crown ; but his projects were defeated. The conquest of *Prussia*, in revenge for the death of Duke *Henry*, was the last action of *Casimir*.

After some difficulties concerning his tender age, *Lech*, surnamed *The White*, *Casimir*'s eldest son, was elected and crowned : the bishop, and the palatine of *Cracow*, were constituted tutors to the young prince ; and *Conrade*, his brother, was declared duke of *Mazovia* and *Cujavia*, under the guardianship of the same lords. *Miechlaus*, who had a strong party at the late election, incensed at this preference, armed and marched against *Cracow* ; and the battle, which was fought on the banks of *Mozgawa*, in 1195, proved fatal to both sides. *Miechlaus*, who had been obliged to continue quiet ever since that action, found means to raise a body of new troops, and took several important places. He then applied himself to the mother of the young prince, and promised her to adopt her two sons, to surrender *Cujavia* to them, and declare them heirs of his dominions, if she would permit him to resume the crown. The duchess accepting of the proposal, he obtained possession of *Cracow*, after he had engaged himself by a solemn oath to the execution of his promises. When he had gained what he demanded, his only view was to secure himself on the throne, which he intended should be inherited by his own children ; but death soon put an end to his ambitious designs. In

this reign, the *Tartars* invaded *Poland*, and that country was harrassed by a dreadful famine ; so that the whole reign of *Lech* was unfortunate. The manner of his death was as deplorable. *Suan-topelk*, palatine of *Pomerania*, enter'd into a design of sacrificing his master to his own ambition. His first demand was the title of duke of *Pomerania*, which province he proposed to hold by fealty and homage. This being refused, he himself assumed that quality, and discontinued the tribute usually paid by the *Pomeranians*. Hence ensued a civil war, in which *Lech* was taken and massacred. On his death, his brother *Conrade*, duke of *Mazovia*, and *Henry*, duke of *Silesia*, became competitors for the crown. *Henry* took possession of *Cracow* ; but *Conrade* enter'd that city, and caused him to be seized. *Henry*, by the prudent mediation of his consort *Hedwig*, desisted from his pretensions, and *Conrade* was universally acknowledged. The former however, within the space of a few years, assumed the title of prince of *Poland*, which he retained to his death.

About this time the *Tartars* made a second entry into *Poland*, where they committed great havoc. During the course of these devastations, *Boleslaus*, the son to duke *Henry*, had been elected prince of *Poland*. *Conrade*, his uncle, endeavoured to avenge the affront, and made himself master of the duchies of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*. As he abused his power, and harrassed his subjects with immoderate imposts, a deputation

was privately dispatched to *Boleslaus*, then in *Hungary*, who, after some delays appeared, and the gates of *Cracow* were immediately opened to him. He supported himself on the throne, in spite of several unfavourable turns of fortune, and died in 1279, after a reign of thirty-seven years; but, having no children, he adopted *Leszko*, or *Lech*, surnamed *The Black*, duke of *Cujavia*, who was acknowledged by the palatinates of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*.

The reign of this prince was one continued scene of war. He was attacked by a confederate army of *Russians*, *Tartars* and *Lithuanians*, whom he defeated. While he was engaged in this expedition, *Sandomir* revolted; and *Cowrade*, duke of *Mazovia*, made himself master of all the places in that palatinate. This revolt, which began about the year 1281, afterwards became general; and the prince was obliged to retire into *Hungary*. Having obtain'd Succours from *Uladislaus*, king of that country, he returned into *Poland*,

where he was defeated, and ended his days in *Mazovia*.

*Lech* was succeeded by *Henry*, duke of *Breslaw*. Some years after his promotion, he was opposed by *Ladislaus Loklek*, duke of *Cujavia*, who was elected by the interest of the nobility of great *Poland* and *Pomerania*. *Henry's* arms were successful against his rival; but he died soon after, and bequeathed the duchies of *Cracow* and *Sandomir* to *Premislaus*, duke of great *Poland*; but *Ladislaus* took possession of *Sandomir*, and extended his views to *Cracow*. *Griphina*, *Lech's* widow, enter'd into treaty with *Wenceslaus*, duke of *Bohemia*, who march'd into *Poland*, seized on *Cracow*, and expelled *Premislaus*. *Wenceslaus* was afterwards defeated by *Ladislaus*; but still retained the title of duke of *Sandomir* and *Cracow*. Some Authors have ranked him among the dukes of *Poland*, and pretend that *Premislaus* was assassinated by his Orders. These transactions are dated toward the close of the thirteenth century.



## ARTICLE XVI.

Father Merlin, a French Jesuit, has employed several Years in a critical Review of the most important Articles of Mr. Bayle's Dictionary. As he imagines that celebrated Work far from deserving the Reception it has met with, he undertakes to vindicate Religion from the Insults of the Author. Fa. Merlin's chief View is to assert the honour of the holy Fathers and Ecclesiastical Writers, whom Mr. Bayle endeavours to render contemptible, by falsely charging them with gross Mistakes and Blunders. He therefore proposes to publish his Criticisms, from time to time, in the Form of Dissertations, and begins with,

*Dissertation sur la Déesse FLORA.* That is, *A Dissertation on the Goddess FLORA.*

**L**actantius, in order to render Idolatry contemptible, and give due authority and credit to the faith in JESUS CHRIST, places the purity of our holy religion in opposition to the abominations, of which Paganism was one continued series. Among other things, he reproaches the Romans with the worship of *Flora*. "She was," says he, a courtesan, who having acquired a large fortune by prostitution, made the Roman people her heirs; and left a certain sum of money, the yearly interest of which should be expended in celebrating her birth-day with public shews which they call *Floralia*. Div. Institut. lib. i. cap. 20." Mr. Bayle seems at first only inclined to doubt, whether *Lactantius* advances this fact on good authority; and afterwards insinuates, that that Father has called in a lie to his assistance, for the support of truth; note H. under the word *Flora*, in his *Critical and Historical Dictionary*, the design of which

is partly to overthrow all the arguments brought by the fathers of the church against both Pagans and Heretics.

First, Mr. Bayle, note A. alleges the authority, or rather the silence of the other fathers against *Lactantius*. He does all in his power for setting them at variance, but always without having reason on his side, as shall be demonstrated on this occasion. He tells us, that neither *Arnobius* nor St. *Augustin* say any thing like what *Lactantius* advances concerning *Flora*, tho' they reproach the Pagans with the impurities of their *Floral* games. However, says he, we find her branded with the character of a prostitute in the dialogue of *Minutius Felix*. If now it is certain, that both *Arnobius* and St. *Augustin* use the same language as the author last mentioned, and represent *Flora* as an infamous prostitute, it will appear that Mr. Bayle himself has called in a lie to his assistance for calumniating *Lactantius*, and that the

censure

censure with which he loads that Father, falls on himself. The words of *Minutius Felix*, in his *Octavius*, are these; *Acca Larentia & Flora, meretrices propudiatæ, inter morbos Romanorum & deos computandæ. Acca Larentia and Flora, infamous prostitutes, are to be reckon'd among the diseases and the deities of Rome. Arnobius expresses himself thus: Flora illa meretrix, & sanctâ obscenitate ludorum benè curat ut arva florescant. That prostitute Flora, in the holy obscenity of her games, takes particular care that your fields flourish.* lib. iii. *adversus gentes.* It may be said, that in almost all the editions of *Arnobius*, instead of *meretrix*, we read *genetrix*: But does it become a profound critic, like *Mr. Bayle*, to say this? He at every turn quotes *Fa. Leonard le Cocq's* Comment on *St. Augustin's City of GOD*; and makes use of his authority in the present question. Did not he observe, that the commentator, quoting the text of *Arnobius*, unites the two readings? *Flora illa, meretrix & genetrix?* in lib. iv. cap. 8. He ought likewise to have known, that, according to the learned *Gebhart Elmenhort*, *meretrix* is the true reading, *Observat. ad Arnob. Sc.* pag. 118. *Lugd. Batav.* 1651.

As to *St. Augustin*, does not he sufficiently declare, that *Flora* was a courtesan? For what else can he mean by this question? *Quæ est ista Flora mater? Qualis dea est, quam celebrior, & habenis effusioribus laxata conciliat & propitiat turpitudine? Who is this mother Flora? What sort of a God-*

*dess is she, whom public and unbridled debauchery renders propitious?* De consensu Evangelistarum, lib. i. cap. 33. Doth not he mean, that the answer must be, *Flora* was a celebrated prostitute? In the very place which *Mr. Bayle* attempts to employ against *Lactantius*, the holy doctor observes, that the extravagances, committed in the *Floral* games, were expressive of the conduct of the goddess, honoured by those games, and proposed to the imitation of her votaries. *Hæc ignominiosa deorum facta, &c! The whole city saw and heard those infamous actions of the gods, --- they perceived that such actions were pleasing to the Gods; and therefore were persuaded, that they were not only to be exhibited to the view of their deities, but likewise to be imitated by men.* De Civit. Dei, lib. ii. cap. 27. After this, has not our critic an uncommon assurance, when he concludes, that *St. Augustin* must have known this story of *Lactantius* was ill-grounded?

Secondly, *Mr. Bayle* imagines he destroys the credit of *Lactantius's* pretended story, by shewing that the worship of *Flora* is more ancient than *Rome* it self. This worship, says he, was established at *Rome* by *Tatius*, king of the *Sabines*, and colleague to *Romulus*; whence it follows, that the goddess was served by the *Sabines* before *Rome* was built. This he learns from *Vossius*, lib. ii. de orig. Idolol. cap. 12. whose author is *Varro de lingua Latinâ*, lib. iv. supported by *Ennius's Annals*; which are not now extant. Hence *Mr.*

Mr. Bayle infers ; *Flora* therefore was not a courtesan, who appointed the Romans her heirs. But he is too hasty in drawing consequences. To oblige him, I will strengthen the objection. *Pliny* mentions a statue of *Flora*, made by *Praxiteles*, Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. cap. v. *Justin* assures us, that the *Phœceans*, who built *Marseille*, kept a feast in honour of *Flora*, lib. xliii. So that the worship of that goddess probably was brought from Greece into Italy. I engage my self entirely to remove this difficulty ; but shall first shew the weakness of it. Mr. Bayle had certainly read the following stanza in the second Ode of *Horace* :

*Sive mutata juvenem figurâ  
Ales in terris imitatis, almae  
Filius Maiae, patiens vocari  
Cæsaris ultor.*

As the Poet here flatters *Augustus* with being *Mercury*, might not the debauch'd youth of *Rome* flatter the prostitute *Flora* with being the goddess *Flora* ? As it seems possible that *Horace's* flattery might have taken so well with the Romans, that when *Augustus* was placed among the gods, the divinity of *Mercury* might be confounded with his, is it altogether incredible, that after the death of the prostitute *Flora*, she might be confounded with the goddess of that name ; and the games, instituted for the celebration of the courtesan's birth-day, considered as a religious ceremony practised in honour of the goddess ?

Farther, all who are tolerably

well versed in the history of the pagan *Apotheoses*, must agree with me, that those of the first antiquity were very different from those of a more modern date. The latter multiplied the number of the gods : the former consisted in making a man, when dead, pass for one of the divinities already acknowledged and worshipped. Why must the *Apotheosis* of the prostitute *Flora*, be of a different kind from that of *Romulus*, who was ranked among the gods by the Romans and Sabines in conjunction, and named *Quirinus* ? that is, they appropriated to him the divinity of *Quirinus*, the tutelary God of the *Cures*, the capital of the country of the Sabines. Is it possible that the learned Mr. Bayle, should not know, that the worship of *Quirinus* was introduced at *Rome* by *Tatius*, king of the Sabines, as well as that of *Flora*, in the life-time of *Romulus*, and before his *Apotheosis* ? How is it possible that this refined critic should not perceive that the passage of *Varro*, which proves that the goddess *Flora* was served by the Sabines, before the building of *Rome*, proves the same in regard to the God *Quirinus* ? But a man may have read much without having seen *Varro* ; and Mr. Bayle refers us to *Vossius*. Why then did he not read *Vossius* more carefully ? he would have found, that even according to *Vossius*, the divinity of *Romulus* was borrowed from that of *Quirinus*, and that in the very place he pretends to have read. *Romulo mortuo, inque deos relato, prævalentibus Sabinis, id nomen datum quod Curibus habuerat*



*habuerat deus tutelaribus : indeque et ipse Curinus vocatus. De orig. idolol. lib. i. cap. 12. pag. 88. Amst. 1641. The Sabines prevailing, Romulus, being dead and placed among the gods, was distinguished by the name of the tutelary god of Cures, for which reason he also was called Curinus. Now, if this way of reasoning is false ; the god Quirinus was worshipped by the Sabines, before the building of Rome ; therefore the god Quirinus is not Romulus, the first king of the Romans ; will it be just to argue thus : The goddess Flora was worshipped by the Sabines, before the building of Rome ; therefore the goddess Flora is not a courtesan, who made the Roman people her heirs.*

The holy scripture assures us (*Wisd. xiii. 2.*) that fire, air, water, the stars, the sun and moon were the first objects of superstitious worship ; which was soon extended to all the particular causes, either moral or physical of the effects observed in nature. Night and day, virtues and vices, all the passions, fortune, war, victory and peace were, by a gross error, personalized, and converted into so many divinities. The cause of the prosperity of a country, or of the advantages attending particular places, was consider'd as a tutelary god. In process of time, these gods were, by degrees, confounded with men famous for their good or bad qualities ; the force and power diffused through the air with a Jupiter, the force and power diffused through the sea with a Neptune, the fruitfulness of the

earth, with Ceres, the sun with Apollo, fire with Vulcan, &c. Men then began to imagine gods born like themselves ; and soon after distinguished from them by fabulous genealogies. There was still a certain number of them, whose origin was unknown, and who continued to be mere ideal personages. The first apotheosis occasioned much perplexity in mythology. Several kings becoming gods, by the superstition of the people, robbed one another of the divinity of the air ; and several heroes did the same in regard to strength or bravery superior to all dangers and hardships. Hence came so many Jupiters and Hercules's ; for those words were not so much proper names, as titles of honour ; the former of which was usually conferred on kings, the latter on men illustrious by their great actions. As to the prostitute Flora, she had nobody to dispute the presidency of flowers with her ; she found the place vacant for her reception.

In reality, under the first kings of Rome, the goddess Flora was no more than a chimerical being, subsisting only in the imagination, as we learn from Varro. Speaking of the names given to the several pontiffs established by Numa Pompilius, he distinguishes those whose origin is clear, from those whose origin is obscure. Of the former sort are, *Martialis* and *Quirinalis* : of the latter, *Vesternalis*, *Palatialis*, *Floralis*, *Pomonalis*, &c. *De lingua Latina, lib. vi. pag. 25.* His meaning certainly is not, that the words *Martialis* and *Quirinalis* are evidently derived from *Mars*.

*Mars* and *Quirinus*; and that we are left to conjecture that the words *Volturnalis*, *Palatualis*, *Floralis*, *Pomonalis*, &c. come from *Volturnus*, *Palatua*, *Flora*, *Pomona*, &c. He rather means that *Mars* and *Quirinus* are without dispute real beings; but that it is not known who the god *Volturnus* is, tho' we are acquainted with a river of that name: who the goddess *Palatua* is, who was said to reside on mount *Palatine*, and to have taken it under her protection: in short, who the goddess *Flora* is, whose influence makes plants and trees flourish; or the goddess *Pomona*, from whom plenty and a happy maturity of fruits were expected.

It is plain that the learned *Roman* speaks of the goddess *Flora*, according to the idea that might be formed of her in the time of *Numa Pompilius*, before the courtesan's apotheosis. His silence and that of other profane authors, in regard to what happen'd since, ought to be of no weight against the authority of *Minutius Felix*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and St. *Augustin*, who say expressly that *Flora* was a prostitute. This they affirm after having read and perfectly well understood a much larger number of the pagan writings, than we have at present. They quote them very often, with great exactness; and it must be acknowledged that a thorough acquaintance with those works is as necessary a qualification for the profession of a lawyer, which was that of *Minutius Felix*, as for that of a rhetorician, which for some time employ'd St. *Augustin*, and which *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* exercised all their lives.

Who doubts of their being furnished with good authorities, before they ventured to advance such a fact? This is a reproach with which they attack the pagans in a bold and public manner; and their producing no proofs is the strongest and most complete proof on our side of the question that we could desire. We see they had no need of them, that they had no reason to fear contradiction, and that they spoke from public notoriety. Besides, we may justly suppose, that persons, attached to paganism, had in interest, especially after the birth of christianity, in suppressing, palliating and giving a favourable gloss to whatever was most capable of discrediting the former, and giving credit to the latter.

Thirdly, Mr. *Bayle* draws another argument from the institution of the *Floral* games, as he finds it related by profane authors. *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. i. cap. 14, and *Pliny* lib. xviii. cap. 29. place the first institution of them about the five hundred and thirteenth year of *Rome*. This epocha must be much posterior both to the legacy and apotheosis of the courtesan. According to *Ovid*, *Fast. lib. v.* The expences of those games were defrayed out of the fines imposed on such as had appropriated to themselves the lands of the commonwealth. From that time, to the year 580, they were not celebrated annually, but only when the inclemency of the air and seasons required it,

or the *Sibylline* books directed it. This Mr. Bayle calls a fresh proof against *Lactantius*. But, notwithstanding all this, might there not have been before an annual institution of those same games, which were discontinued when the fund left by the courtesan proved insufficient, or for some other reason? This seems to have been the case, because *Lactantius* had before his eyes this passage of *Ovid*, so apparently decisive against him, and even quotes it, without being staggered in his opinion. *Eum colorem secutus in fastis poeta.* The poet, in his fasti, proceeding on the same pretence. How many revivals have been made to pass for new establishments? Sometimes the glory of a first institution excites the jealousy of the restorer, and inspires him with the design of suppressing the remembrance of it, as much as possible, in order to secure himself the honour of the invention. Here, on the contrary, the *Roman* senate blushes at the original institution of the *Floral* games. The only view at first in these games was that of celebrating the birth-day of the prostitute, according to the terms of her will, and with a fund settled for that purpose. But this seeming scandalous and ridiculous, they made use of the likeness and ambiguity of the name, in order to change them into a religious ceremony in honour of the goddess; which plainly appears an *apotheosis* of the prostitute, like that of *Remulus*, when his votaries began to confound him with *Quirinus*, the

tutelar God of the *Sabines*. *Quod quia flagitiosum senatui videbatur, &c.* As the senate look'd on this as abominable, they resolv'd to palliate the matter with the name itself; and, to add some dignity to a shameful thing, pretended she was the goddess who presided over flowers. (*Lact.* in the place quoted) However this expedient, instead of covering the infamy, only encreased it. For which reason, these games being revived after a long interruption, nothing was left unattempted for screening so despicable an origin from the eyes of posterity.

Some partizan of Mr. Bayle will say, it happens unluckily after all, that *Lactantius* is the only writer, who has preserved so singular a piece of the *Roman* history. In reality, according to the constant maxim of the author of the *Critical and Historical Dictionary*, whenever the cause of libertinism can be favoured, any thing must be believed on his bare word, and without insisting on authority for what he advances. But the case is not the same in regard to what is publish'd at court, and under the eyes of the emperor by a preceptor to the prince his son, who undertakes the defence of the christian religion. After so many ages, which have received his testimony with respect, a man takes it into his head to give him the lye; tho' a pagan author, almost his cotemporary, agrees with him in this point, that the *Floral* games were founded by the prostitute *Flora*. 'Tis the old scholiast on *Juvenal*, whom

Mr.



Mr. Bayle says he had read. But, in the first place, did he observe that this writer was a pagan? This is evident from what he says of *Moses*, in his comment on verse 103 of the 14th satire, *Sacerdos vel rex, &c.* He was a priest or king of the Jewish nation; or, at least, the inventor of their religion; of whom Cornelius Tacitus also makes mention. Secondly, Did he perceive that the erudition of the said scholiast, the elegance, and neatness of his stile, do not allow us to place him in a time much posterior to the reign of *Constantine*? The truth is, several learned men have ascribed the work to the grammarian *Probus*, who lived under the emperor *Adrian*. Thirdly, Did he take notice that this author, however, did not live before *Constantine*; and that his notes on *Juvenal* were certainly penn'd after that prince's conversion to christianity? For he manifestly alludes to the law of the same emperor, which forbids the crucifixion of any criminal. *Antiqui crucibus figebant* on verse 78 of *Satire xiv.* The ancients used the punishment of crucifixion. This scholiast therefore was very near cotemporary with *Lactantius*, who was preceptor to *Crispus Cesar*, *Constantine's* son. Now, what doth this learned pagan say of the *Floral* games? *Hi ludi a Florâ meretricie instituti, &c.* These games were instituted by *Flora*, a prostitute, in honour of the goddess *Flora*, who presides over flowers. They are immodest games. On verse 249 of *Satire vi.* However, re-

plies Mr. Bayle, in note A. he does not say, with *Lactantius*, that the prostitute *Flora* instituted those games in honour of herself. Wretched shift! He says what *Lactantius* tells us the pagans said in his time; for they had an interest in not owning the apotheosis of a prostitute, or that they celebrated her birth-day with public games.

Having justified *Lactantius* against the calumny of Mr. Bayle, I cannot forbear taking notice of an enormous blunder committed by this great critic, in his censure on a passage of *Vossius*, whom he charges with not understanding that father. *Vossius* indeed was mistaken; but Mr. Bayle has not been able to shew how or why; and the proof which he offers for shewing *Vossius's* mistake is so strong, that it must have given him the utmost confusion, had it been charged on him in his life-time. The business is this: authors make mention of two famous prostitutes, both called *Acca Larentia*. The former was nurse to *Romulus*; the latter lived in the reign of *Ancus Martius*, and was surnamed *Faula*. *Lactantius* reproacheth the Romans with the apotheosis of the former; and adds, that they likewise pay divine honour to the latter, who, according to *Verrius*, was concubine to *Hercules*. He then speaks of *Flora*, in the terms already quoted. *Vossius* pretends that *Lactantius* has not distinguished *Faula* from *Flora*; but that instead of *Faula*, we ought to read *Flaura*; for *Flaura* was the old orthography of *Flora*;

thus *Caudex* was changed into *Codex*, &c. To this Mr. Bayle replies, "All this falls to the ground, when we remember that the goddess *Faula*, mentioned by *Lactantius*, was concubine to *Hercules*; and that the *Flora*, here spoken of, left her whole substance to the Roman people. Thus the most celebrated authors fall into great mistakes for want of attention."

Mr. Bayle is so good as to furnish us with an instance, which demonstrates the truth of his fine observation. But is he to be charged with want of attention, or of true erudition? Had *Vossius* been living when the *Critical and Historical Dictionary* first appear'd with the admiration of the half-learned, and the applause of libertines, he would easily have let our critic see, that a man, who pretends to so much and so exact reading, must be grossly ignorant, when he bestows the appellation of a *great mistake* on the persuasion and acknowledgment of this fact, that a concubine of *Hercules* left all she was worth to the Roman people. Do you imagine, he would have said, that this concubine must have lived at the time of *Hercules's* labours, and during his residence in *Italy*; and that she must be older than any of the *Sibyls*, in order to have an amour with *Hercules*, and be acquainted with the *Romans*? What sort of studies have you been employ'd in? Are the materials you employ, the collections of some young collegian? *Macrobius* is the

A. B. C. of every one who sets up for a man of learning. Doth not he tell you, that, in the reign of *Ancus Martius*, a fellow, who had the care of the temple of *Hercules*, which no woman was allow'd to enter, introduced this *Acca Larentia*, surnamed *Faula*, and that she afterwards pass'd for *Hercules's* concubine? I have quoted the book and chapter in the very place of my work, which you so rashly censure. See *Saturnal. lib. i. cap. 10.*

Mr. Bayle would certainly have made an advantage of this reprimand, and humbly retracted his censure in a second edition of his *Dictionary*; where he would have endeavoured to console himself under that mortification with the infamous pleasure of translating this little story into *French*, with as little modesty as possible, and adding to it the most cynical reflections. Readers of corrupt dispositions would easily have pardoned him an ignorance or inadvertency, which made him omit it, when they consider'd that such pieces do not usually escape his unbridled licentiousness of satisfying his taste of immodest discourses. Perhaps the bold and decisive tone, with which he covers the superficial and the false of his vast erudition, might have put him on advancing that this story is to be found only in *Macrobius*. But then it would have been shewn him in *Plutarch's Roman Questions*, quoted by *Vossius* in the very place which is the object of Mr. Bayle's censure; and our critic would have been confounded a second time.

*Vossius's*

*Vossius's* real mistake is obvious from the treatise last mentioned. For first, *Plutarch* gives that *Acca Larentia* the surname of *Φαλαρα* which some of his translators render *Fabula*; and this is evidently the *Faula* of *Verrius* and *Laetantius*; so that, in the text of the latter, we are not to read *Flaura* instead of *Faula*; and consequently, *Vossius* is out in his conjecture, that *Laetantius* has not distinguished *Faula* from *Flora*. Secondly, *Plutarch* says that the *Larentalia*, celebrated in the month of *December*, were a festival of *Faula*; whereas the festival of *Flora*, or the *Floralia*, were celebrated at the end of

*April*; and other *Larentalia* in the same month, in honour of *Acca Larentia*, *Romulus's* nurse. Let us conclude, with a learned editor of *Laetantius*, that, *There was always so great a number of prostitutes at Rome, that it is but of little importance to enquire to which of them the origin of these games ought to be ascribed. Let it suffice that Flora is by all mentioned as a celebrated prostitute.* Thom. Sparn. pag. 85. Another conclusion is, that Mr. Bayle has read every thing just as a *Petit Maitre* would have seen every thing, by riding post through all the countries of the world,

## ARTICLE XVII.

## LITRARY NEWS.

## WIRTEMBERG.

WE have the following curious work of Mr. Georgi, *Hierocriticus novi Testamenti, &c.* In three books, 4to. It has been usually remarked, that St. Luke wrote his Gospel and the *Acts of the Apostles* in a stile that may be allowed both pure and elegant: That the Greek of St. Matthew, is a translation from the Hebrew, and that of St. John's Gospel, abounding in *Hebraisms*. The author of this piece, however, undertakes to shew that the diction, and dialect used by the inspired writers of the New Testament is entirely *Attic*. According to him, the *Hellenistical* language, that is, the Greek tongue, mixed with *Hebrew* and *Syriac*, is a mere chimera: no *Hebraism*, *Syrochaldaic*, or *Persian* idioms are to be found there; nor even *Ionisms* or *Dorisms*. This he maintains against several learned men, such as *Phrynicius*, *Salmasius*, *Pasor*, &c.

## JENA.

Lately printed here, *De Successione Fæmineâ in Regna et Provincias Austriacas*: A dissertation on the Succession of Females to the States of the House of Austria. At the end of this work, we have the *Pragmatic*



*matic Sanction*, with the instruments for erecting *Austria* into a dutchy, by the emperor *Frederick I.* and the right of succession, granted to the female line, on failure of the male. This piece, which appears without a name, is ascribed to Mr. *Struve*.

## PARIS.

*John Baptist de Lepine*, printer in ordinary to his majesty, has published the works of *Salvian*, priest of *Marseille*, translated into French, by Fa. . . . . of the *Society of Jesus*. In 12mo. This translation is preceded by the life of the author.

Mr. *de Fourmont*, senior, professor of the *Arabic* language in the Royal College, member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, and *Belles Lettres*, &c. has lately entertain'd the public with two volumes in 4to. under the following title. *Reflexions Critiques sur les Histories des anciens peuples Chaldéens, Hebreux, Pheniciens, Egyptiens, Grecs, &c. jusqu' au tems de Cyrus*. That is, *Critical Reflections on the Histories of the ancient People*; viz. the Chaldeans, Hebrews, Phenicians, Egyptians, Grecians, &c. to the time of Cyrus. In this work, the author examines the fragment of *Sanchoniathon's Phenician* history, preserved by *Eusebius*; corrects the chronology, and presents us with the origin of the gods of *Egypt, Greece, Phenicia, &c.* undertakes to confute *Scaliger, Petau, Usher, Marsham, Pezron*, and other chronologers; explains the chronological difficulties of the Old Testament, and such as occur in the *Babylonish, Assyrian, Greek, and Chinese* histories; and draws up a chronological table of the empire of *China*, with the names of its emperors, both in *Chinese* and *Latin* characters, taken from their own annals.

A canon of the royal church of *St. Quintin*, formerly first professor of rhetoric in the college of the same name, has published proposals for printing a new edition of *Cicero's Orations*, with critical and historical notes for the use of young students. Before each oration will be an historical argument, explaining the subject of it, with the character of the chief persons concerned, and the state of the *Roman* commonwealth. The whole will make four volumes in 4to. At the head of the work we are to have a preface, and the history of the author, written by *Fabricius*. The comment on the first pages of the oration *de Suppliciis*, against *Verres*, given as a specimen of the performance, engages the public in its favour.

## AMSTERDAM.

*John Frederick Bernard*, bookseller in this city, has reprinted the *marquis de Feuquieres's Historical and Political Memoirs*, in three volumes, 8vo. with some additions, which were wanted in the first edition.

H. du Sauzet publishes *Lettres sur les Miracles, &c. Letters concerning Miracles*; in which are laid down the distinctive characteristics of true Miracles in general, and of those in particular, which are performed on human Bodies; shewing that, without enquiring into the Doctrine, we have good Reason for rejecting the Miracles attributed by the Jansenists to Mr. de Paris. 12mo. By Mr. Desvœux, in Answer to a Discourse on Miracles, written by Mr. de Maupas. This book is the sequel, or rather a defence of a *Dissertation on Miracles*, published at Leyden by the same author, and attacked by Mr. de Maupas, an ecclesiastic, now residing in the province of Utrecht, and one of the most zealous partizans of the late Mr. de Paris.

OXFORD.

We have here proposals for printing by subscription a new edition of Dr. Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria*; with very large additions under the author's own hand. This curious and learned book was published in two middling *Folio* volumes. During the last twelve years of his life, he revised it with great care and application, made a great number of additions, emendations, &c. through the whole; which, we are assured by the undertakers of this new impression, would fill near another volume of the same size. These are now to be printed, from the original manuscript, not in the form of a supplement or appendix, but in their proper places. These improvements, together with a new *Prolegomena* to the whole, were finished and prepared for the press some time before the author's death, and by him deposited in the hands of his executors the right honourable the lord chief justice Reeves, and the reverend Dr. Jones, canon of *Windfor*, desiring that the whole work might be published in the same complete form, in which he left it, and not otherwise.

These worthy gentlemen having consented to an entire edition of this work, it is proposed that it be printed at the Theatre press of this University; and as the paper will be larger than that of the former, it will be included in two volumes in *Folio*.

These additions and alterations are so numerous and interspersed through the work in such a manner, as to render it impossible to come to an exact computation of the number of sheets; it is therefore proposed to publish at the rate of three half-pence per sheet; each subscriber advancing one guinea, and paying the remainder, according to the number of sheets, on delivery of a perfect book in quires.

In order to render this edition still more complete, and extensively useful, references will be made, where proper, to FABRICIUS, OUDIN, NOURRY, and others, who since Dr. CAVE have mention'd the same writers; and likewise notice will be taken of

of later editions of the fathers, published at home, or abroad, and proper indexes added to the second volume.

*Proposals* are delivered, and *subscriptions* taken by the following booksellers. Messieurs *Wilmot*, *Clements*, *Peisley*, and *Fletcher*, at OXFORD. Messieurs *Crownfield*, and *Thurlbourn* at CAMBRIDGE. Messieurs *Strahan*, *Batley* and *Wood*, *Innys* and *Manby*, *Whiston*, *Brown*, *Vaillant*, and *Harding*, at LONDON. Mr. *Leake* at BATH. Messieurs *Freebairn*, and *Ramsay*, at EDINBURGH. Messieurs *Smith*, and *Bruce*, at DUBLIN. Messieurs *Wetstein* and *Smith*, at AMSTERDAM. Mr. *Scheurleer*, at the HAGUE. Mr. *Langerac*, at LEYDEN. Mr. *Neaulme*, at UTRECHT. Mr. *Kisner*, at HAMBURGH. Mr. *Fritsch*, at LEIPSIC; and by the undertaker, *Joseph Pote*, bookseller, at ETON.

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